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ABSTRACT

The vitality of the business sector is an index of the general health of a free society. The importance of capitalism and the free enterprise system is a tenet of the ethos of the United States. Six addresses which promote this theme are presented as well as a list of the members of the honorary sponsoring committee honoring Donald Rumsfeld. The addresses are: "Global Validity of the American Experience" (Donald Rumsfeld), "How Business Promotes Freedom" (Ronald Reagan), "Democratic Capitalism as a Moral Force" (William E. Simon), "Ideas Shape Every Generation" (Irving Kristol), "Government Must Help Business Flourish" (Richard Cheney), and "Business Heroes Are Risk-Takers" (Frank Shakespeare). (BZ)

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February 1986

American Business and the Quest for Freedom

Donald Rumsfeld
Ronald Reagan • William E. Simon
Irving Kristol • Richard Cheney
Frank Shakespeare

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Ernest W. Lefever, President
ETHICS AND PUBLIC POLICY CENTER
1030 Fifteenth Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 682-1200

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Ethics and Public Policy Center
Shelby Cullom Davis Award-1985
Donald Rumsfeld

IN government and in the world of business. Donald Rumsfeld has diligently defended the principles that have made America great.

He began his service to his country as a navy pilot. After three terms in the U.S. House of Representatives, he was appointed by Presidents Nixon and Ford to key positions of increasing responsibility -- Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Director of the Economic Stabilization Program, Ambassador to NATO, and, in 1975, Secretary of Defense.

More recently, he twice interrupted his work as president of a major corporation to serve as a Presidential Envoy for Ronald Reagan. The second mission took him to the Middle East.

Three of these were "no win" assignments that a man of lesser courage, or one who put ambition before service, might well have declined. The OEO, the Economic Stabilization Program, and the Middle East mission were complex and controversial political minefields. Donald Rumsfeld tackled them all with his customary imagination, integrity, and sense of duty.

Throughout his strenuous career he has steadfastly worked to uphold the freedom and security of the United States and its democratic allies. As chairman of the Committee for the Free World he demonstrates his belief in the inescapable link between choice in the market place and choice at the ballot box, and between American democracy and the cause of freedom throughout the world.

The Ethics and Public Policy Center is proud to present its fourth annual Shelby Cullom Davis Award for integrity and courage to Donald Rumsfeld.

Washington, D.C.
November 20, 1985

Chairman

President

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Editor's Note

"FOR EVERY HUMAN PROBLEM there is a solution that is simple, neat, and wrong." Donald Rumsfeld quotes these words of H. L. Mencken to make the point that ideas are not to be welcomed merely because they are new or bold. In this collection, he and four other widely respected leaders offer both some new and some time-tested ideas on the role of American business in the battle of ideas.

Their comments were made at the fourth annual Ethics and Public Policy Dinner, held in Washington on November 20, 1985. The event drew nearly seven hundred guests from the political, business, academic, and religious communities. At the dinner, Donald Rumsfeld received the Shelby Cullom Davis Award for integrity and courage in public life, an honor previously bestowed upon Jeane Kirkpatrick (1982), Lech Walesa (1983), and Paul Nitze (1984). The citation, presented to Mr. Rumsfeld on behalf of the Ethics and Public Policy Center by Sir James Goldsmith, is reproduced opposite the contents page of this collection.

Excerpts from Mr. Rumsfeld's address and from remarks by William Simon, Irving Kristol, Richard Cheney, and Frank Shakespeare appear here in edited form, along with the full text of President Reagan's filmed message. Some of the speakers' tributes to the honored guest are included in these excerpts. Mr. Simon was the dinner chairman; the eighty-nine members of the honorary sponsoring committee are listed on page 17.

CAROL FRIEDLEY GRIFFITH, *Editor*
Ethics and Public Policy Center

Global Validity of the American Experience

DONALD RUMSFELD

The truth—especially the truth about freedom in a divided world—has powerful foes as well as friends. So it is useful from time to time to restate some basic truths about freedom, and the responsibility of those who enjoy it.

Unlike those nations whose histories are rooted in an ancient tribal, geographical, or religious past—a past of bloodlines—America began not as a tract of land but as a set of values. A surprising thing about our society is that though we have had our communal strains, for such an enormous, pluralistic society these strains have been few. The ethnic, racial, and religious groups that came to America have on the whole fought less here than in their homelands. With the founding of this country, something new entered the human equation, something distinctly American.

This change in behavior, outlook, and sense of community has melded pilgrims, boat people, emigrants from famine, the ghetto, and oppression all over the globe, into a single people. It might be called the "alchemy of an idea." Most Americans, with the exception of the African slaves, became Americans because of an idea—a conscious decision made by them or their ancestors to build a new life in a new land. They were not philosophers; some could barely sign their names. But they knew why

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Donald Rumsfeld served three full terms in the U.S. House of Representatives. In 1969, during his fourth term, he resigned to become, first, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, next Director of the Economic Stabilization Program, and then Ambassador to NATO. He directed the transition to the presidency of Gerald Ford and became White House Chief of Staff in 1974. From 1975 to 1977 he was the nation's thirteenth Secretary of Defense. He has twice been a presidential envoy for Ronald Reagan. Mr. Rumsfeld was the president and chief executive officer of the G. D. Searle pharmaceutical firm until it became a part of Monsanto in mid-1985.

they had come, what they had left behind, and what they hoped to build in a setting of freedom, tolerance, and opportunity.

Respect for individual rights, recognition of individual responsibilities, a government chosen by and accountable to the people, equality of opportunity—these form the basis of the American system. Our heritage as twentieth-century Americans includes:

- The preservation and expansion of democracy: enlargement of the franchise, extension of civil liberties, protection of the rights of the individual and of society, and the survival of unity despite diversity and dissent.
- The bounty of free enterprise: the journey from scarcity to abundance, the growth of economic opportunity, and an unsurpassed quality of life.
- A spur and contribution to the well-being of other nations: an enterprise example for the world, and a role in the preservation of liberty through two world wars.

Those achievements can also suggest guideposts for the future, concepts we must keep in mind as we strive to fulfill our ideals:

- We must keep democracy in balance, emphasizing that responsibilities accompany rights, that too much protection for each can be too little protection for all, that over-regulation breeds stagnation and over-intervention halts invention.
- We must emphasize to young people our strengths, not our weaknesses.
- We must make it clear that America's equality is the equality of opportunity, not the equality of result.
- We must be aware of freedom's precarious balance, and understand that the full extension of one principle can tip the scale against all others.
- We must serve as leaders in the world. Through our technology we can open up new frontiers of knowledge about man, his earth, and the space beyond, and by our example we can show the peoples of the world that political and economic freedom is the soil in which the greatest individual and social achievement grows.

The Test of Experience

How relevant is our experience for others? Again and again, in country after country, when ordinary people are given a choice, they reach for a

free society. They do it by ballot when possible, by bullet when necessary, and, in the case of tens of millions of refugees, by sacrificing home and possessions for a fresh start in a free society. They vote with their feet. They come. There could be no greater testimony to the validity of the American experience for the greater human family.

The societies that have come closest to sharing our personal, political, and economic freedoms are the ones that have flourished in a generally impoverished world. Indeed, some of our trading partners are outperforming the U.S. economy because they have stayed truer to those freedoms.

Elsewhere in the world, where less free, statist systems have been adopted or imposed—in the Soviet Union and its satellites, in Third World countries with authoritarian regimes of the left or the right, in aging, overburdened welfare states where initiative has been smothered by dependency—the results have been dismal. In some cases we fund international programs that not only transfer the costs of the failures of socialist systems to the freer systems but, worse, postpone the needed corrections. The medical, agricultural, industrial, and technological breakthroughs that can prevent suffering and decline continue to occur almost exclusively in the United States and the handful of other free countries.

The American system remains the entrepreneurial model for the world. And with the failure of states that ignore what works, America remains the primary haven for those suffering from these failures.

Moral Parity and America's Global Role

Our role in the world, now and into the twenty-first century, is central and vital. How should we shape this role, and how does the private sector figure in it?

First, without self-determination, freedom, and peace, none of our other goals, hopes, or promises can be achieved. None!

Our system must be safeguarded because it is basically just and on the right path. He who would tear it down must offer something demonstrably better, not a utopian dream but a system both proven and achievable.

The major threats we face are (1) nuclear war and (2) appeasement of the Soviet Union. Each is highly dangerous. We must adopt long-range policies and pursue these policies firmly and steadily to improve our situation over time. We must discourage nuclear proliferation by reducing the

incentives for it. We will have to rely less upon international organizations—whether ruled by one man one vote, one dollar one vote, or one nation one vote—and instead develop closer working relationships with states that at least to some degree believe in and practice political and economic freedom.

A decade ago, Clare Boothe Luce wisely remarked that although the Soviet Union has achieved nuclear parity with the West, "we must not grant them moral parity." Another observer said, similarly, that "only one in a state of chronic childishness could talk of the superpowers as though they were two scorpions in a bottle, carrying no moral baggage." The stance of moral neutrality erodes the ability to see things clearly and undermines the capacity for collective action. The day we lose sight of the distinction between freedom and the denial of freedom, on that day the global competition ceases to have a moral dimension and reverts to a raw power struggle that free people are ill suited to win.

In the 1930s, in the words of one witness, the democracies seemed bent on "consenting to their own funeral." Time and time again the powers allied against freedom and self-determination made their intentions perfectly clear. Not one of the democracies faced the threat in time to prevent world war. We know the price that was paid.

Terrorist seizure of hostages, bombings of planes, airports, and NATO installations, the exposure of a major spy ring—such events serve to remind us of the ongoing struggle against freedom. It remains to be seen how well we have learned the lessons of leadership.

Private-Sector Leadership

How can American business help in the struggle to preserve freedom?

Corporate America needs to help those who are engaged in the competition of ideas. Institutions such as the Ethics and Public Policy Center, the Rand Corporation, the Institute for Contemporary Studies, the Committee for the Free World, the Rockford Institute, the Heritage Foundation, the Hoover Institute, the Hudson Institute, and other champions of right ideas merit our support.

Business professionals tend to be timid about taking on public roles. Persons of notable business talent and achievement are not often visible in the national and international dialogue on key policy issues.

This should change. In this dangerous and essentially unfree world, the

course of our country is too important to be left only to politicians. Business professionals will have to develop the desire and skills to participate in public affairs. Who is more suited to contribute to leadership in the growing competition in our integrated global economy than those experienced in successful multinational operations?

The essential quality of leadership is the courage to decide, to set a direction. It can have a galvanizing effect. Just as President Reagan could pierce the veil of diplomatic misdirection and say no to the seabed mining provision of the Law of the Sea Treaty because it proposed, modestly, the "international nationalization of two-thirds of the earth's surface," so too a citizen can step forward to defend a person in public life who has been unfairly treated; or can help to set up a competing campus newspaper with an editorial interest in the family, community, and freedom.

Those in the private sector can contribute greatly to a climate of public understanding that encourages those in government to act with foresight, to avoid a crisis by acting early, when the correction can be modest rather than wrenching. As George Will said, "we need people who have read the minutes of the last meeting." A contribution of this sort requires more than just a donation to the war chests of the right committee chairmen. It means active engagement, which takes time, skill, and courage.

While we benefit from the "messy vitality" that is democracy, we need to recognize that respect for the principle of free speech does not mean that "any idea is as good as any other." The fact that no society, institution, or individual is perfect is no reason to lower our standards or adopt the approaches of systems that are notably *less* perfect.

As we strive for improvement and search for bold, innovative, new ideas, we should remember that an idea can be bold, innovative, new, and wrong. H. L. Mencken observed that "for every human problem there is a solution that is simple, neat, and wrong."

Businessmen know that whatever they measure, track, and reward improves, and that what they ignore declines. That same principle is true for our country. We can all contribute to a public or national philosophy, a discipline or standard against which to test ideas, so that decisions are not arbitrarily made. Our approach should be one that is rooted in enduring values, focuses on what is central, uses what works, reflects our need of community, rewards what we want to encourage, and realistically stakes a claim on the future.

How Business Promotes Freedom

RONALD REAGAN

I appreciate this opportunity to join in honoring a man who has served his country well in elected office, appointed positions, and the private sector. I can't think of an individual who better represents the ideals for which the Shelby Cullom Davis Award stands than Don Rumsfeld.

Now, I don't have to go into detail about Don's distinguished career. I should say, however, that when I needed an individual of integrity and stature to send to the Middle East during a crucial time, I turned to Don Rumsfeld. He took six months out of his life and away from his job as chief executive officer of G. D. Searle to concentrate on matters of vital importance to the well-being of his country.

This fits in, of course, with the theme of your gathering, which is the responsibility of American business to enhance freedom in the United States and abroad. One of the greatest deterrents to the spread of tyranny in much of the world is economic development, the kind that is possible only through the genius and enterprise of the private sector. Consistent with this, one of the major accomplishments of our administration has been the Caribbean Basin Initiative, which is designed to expand the economic well-being of our neighbors to the south. We've opened up one-way free trade in most products with these nearby friends who are struggling to improve their lot while at the same time fending off Communist challenges to their fragile democracies.

The CBI is a sound idea. But to be successful, it will require a commitment from America's business community. In so many parts of the world, the abundance created by the private sector stands in stark contrast to the deprivation of Marxist economies. Socialist development in the Third World has been a cruel hoax. Other developing countries—many with few resources—that have encouraged the private sector and foreign invest-

ment have flourished. By using American know-how and investment to build the economies of developing countries, businessmen are also laying the foundation of free political institutions.

Corporate America has played an exemplary role—for example, in South Africa, bringing many black South Africans into the mainstream of the economy. In China, more progress is being made under liberalized economic policies, which include a larger role for free-market forces.

I believe that freedom is the responsibility of all Americans. It goes to the heart of what we are as a nation. Ralph Waldo Emerson once wrote, "America means opportunity, freedom, power." That same dynamic spirit is alive in our country today. We have every reason to look to the future with confidence. And this is due in no small part to individuals like Don Rumsfeld and Ernest Lefever, and to the work of the Ethics and Public Policy Center.

I thank you for letting me be part of your program this evening. God bless you all.

Democratic Capitalism As a Moral Force

WILLIAM E. SIMON

In many respects the U.S. economy seems strong at the moment. The stock market is surging to new records—the Dow broke 1400 last week. Employment is at an all-time high. Inflation remains more or less stable at about 4 per cent.

But we have just rolled up a record $211 billion budget deficit. This is a path that will lead us back to escalating inflation. Nobel laureate Friedrich Hayek put it succinctly on a recent trip to this country: "The only way you can finance a deficit is by inflation. You cannot raise this amount of money by genuine borrowing. You borrow from the banks, which create credit for the purpose. A large government deficit is a certain way to inflation."

So even though many indicators look positive, there is the dark, brooding presence of the deficit, and the relentless march of new deficit spending. There is the plight of our export sector, and the danger of massive defaults if we choke off our debtors' opportunities for exporting to us. There is our record trade deficit, and the uncomfortable fact that in only three years we have gone from being a very substantial net creditor nation to being a net debtor nation. There is the rising threat of protectionism and its certain consequence—the breakdown of the world trading system.

Meanwhile, calamity in our farm belt grows. Thanks in large measure to inflation, people rushed into the farm market in the 1970s as a means of protecting their assets. Farmers used higher land values to borrow more money and expand into an ever more export-oriented market. With the collapse of inflation three years ago and the continued high real interest

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William E. Simon is president of the John M. Olin Foundation and head of the Wesray Corporation. He was Secretary of the Treasury 1973–77 and has served the U.S. government in many other capacities. He is the author of two books, "A Time for Truth" and "A Time for Action."

rates that farmers must pay, we are now seeing a growing wave of farm foreclosures and farm bank failures. The Farm Credit System lost almost two-thirds of a billion dollars in the third quarter of 1985 alone, and its governor is begging Congress for a $5 billion bailout.

Things aren't much better in the domestic petroleum industry or in commercial real estate. Oil drilling rigs are stacked up on lots all over the Southwest. Many big cities have a lot of new office buildings that are going to go into bankruptcy if tenants don't show up soon.

We also face a massive international debt crisis. Third World countries that borrowed half a trillion dollars from the West in recent years are by and large utterly unable even to begin to repay those debts. Every time our banks and governments go through the ritual of "rescheduling" we are simply lending the borrowers more money so that they can pay the *interest* on the money they have already borrowed. Some call this the "new world of international finance," but what we are really talking about is the old world of bankruptcy. The only difference is that nowadays the creditors foolishly lend their way in deeper in the hope that some sort of taxpayer rescue plan can be devised to extricate them.

To have some hope of avoiding default, those countries must have a chance to earn foreign exchange. That means exporting. If we erect barriers to their exports, the game is over. But if we don't erect those barriers, the administration in power comes under more and more political attack from the forces of protectionism at home.

These problems are immense, but they are not unsolvable. In fact, the solutions are relatively clear. The American people must:

- Abandon the idea that any nation can go on spending more than it takes in year after year.
- Abandon the idea that increasing taxes or stimulating growth through cheap money will wipe out the deficits; it will not.
- Abandon the idea that protection creates a net benefit for anybody, let alone everybody; it does the opposite.
- Abandon the idea that our debtors can somehow keep current with their debt payments without exporting to earn foreign exchange; they cannot.

Human beings created these problems, and human beings can solve them. The key ingredient required is courage. American business has been famous for its courage. It took great courage to build the western railroads, dam the flowing rivers, bring up oil from the depths of the earth,

put the American people on wheels, and invest untold millions in the crazy idea that a tiny chip the size of a fingernail could be made to replace the labors of a million people.

Now the leaders of American business are going to have to show some real political courage. They will have to lead the fight to restore the lost balance in our fiscal and monetary policies. They will have to speak out forcefully and repeatedly for sound, steady, non-inflationary economic growth.

Business must wage war against reckless deficit spending, and against the urge to impose new taxes on the American people. Business must stand up and demand continued deregulation, even if it means more competition and risk. American business has been a driving force in the preservation and strengthening of freedom in this country; now it must put its shoulder to that wheel with renewed dedication.

There is a prescription that will cure our economic ills, one whose effectiveness has been proven: limited government, low taxation, balanced budgets, private property, competitive enterprise, sound money, free trade, deregulation, savings and investment, and, above all, *faith* in the system that made America the greatest economic and moral force on the globe, and the *courage* to defend this system.

Ideas Shape Every Generation

IRVING KRISTOL

Our world is shaped by ideas. This idea itself is something that it is not easy to get through to most political people or business people, who are, as they must be, practical people. Thus, it is easy for a businessman or an economist to be for free enterprise. To be for capitalism is harder. Free enterprise is an activity, while capitalism is an idea—or rather, a series of ideas—about how and why economic activity should be organized to create a decent, productive, and free society. After all, the institutions necessary to support business activity derive, not from business, but from ideas. The laws and the role of law, religion and the role of morality, politics and the idea of justice—all these ideas affect the political and economic existence of every one of us, including every businessman, in ways that we can understand only with an intellectual effort.

Ideas shape every generation. The world is always being invaded by barbarians. Every second a new barbarian is born, an infant who has to be civilized. This civilizing process means shaping his or her mind with certain ideas that then engender certain habits and attitudes and result in a way of life that he and others can respect.

The idea-community is not the nicest of worlds. If you think politics is a nasty business, come to a faculty meeting at a university sometimes. If you think business is cutthroat, let me point out that in business all you do is *compete* with one another; in the intellectual community we want to *destroy* one another. The intellectual life is a grim struggle, though a very exciting one. It is a war of ideas, and we who are involved

Irving Kristol is co-editor of "The Public Interest," publisher of "The National Interest," and John M. Olin Professor of Social Thought at the New York University Graduate School of Business Administration.

in it need all the help we can get from people in the political and business worlds. We need it to prevent the kinds of things that are now happening in our universities, and in our divinity schools, where the last thing you are likely to find is any divinity, and in our law schools, where, today, if you can get law professors to take seriously the idea of *obedience* to laws—to say nothing of the *reverence* for laws about which Lincoln spoke—you have made great progress. In institution after institution we have enormous problems.

Intellectuals spend their lives coping with these problems, and they need support—not money alone, but the active participation of people from business and the political world. Don Rumsfeld has been, for me, the ideal type of the businessman-politician who understands the importance of the world of ideas, and who contributes not just money but energy and talent toward shaping that world of ideas in such a way that this country can realize the promise on which it is based.

Such persons reassure us that we, on the battlefield of ideas, are not shouting in one small echo chamber, not speaking only to ourselves, but that we have friends and allies who are worldly (very important, because intellectuals tend not to be very worldly) and who at the same time understand and appreciate the role of ideas.

Government Must Help Business Flourish

RICHARD CHENEY

Seventeen years ago I first met Donald Rumsfeld when I was interviewed by him for a position on his congressional staff. It was one of the more unpleasant experiences of my life. As a matter of fact, I've waited seventeen years to get even.

The truth is, I flunked the interview. After half an hour it was clear to both of us that there was no possibility that I could work for him. But some months later, I became his special assistant. In subsequent years, we saw a good part of the world together, from Cairo to Vladivostok. We fought poverty, our own as well as the nation's. (I must say that Don has been considerably more successful at eliminating his poverty than I've been at eliminating mine.) We controlled wages, prices, and profits at the Cost of Living Council in the early 1970s. And we did two separate tours at the White House during the Nixon and Ford administrations.

I have often been asked how it was that I replaced Don as President Ford's chief of staff. It's an interesting story. I was Don's deputy, and we had arranged to alternate presidential trips—Don would take one trip with the President and I would take the next. Traveling with President Ford was often an experience, and during one stretch of several months we were plagued by troublesome incidents. You remember President Ford slipping on the steps of Air Force One as he arrived in Austria for a state visit. A few weeks later, a carload of teenagers in Hartford, Connecticut, broke through a police line and crashed into the presidential limousine. Not long after that, Squeaky Fromm, one of Charles Manson's followers,

Richard Cheney is a U.S. congressman from Wyoming and chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee. He served as White House Chief of Staff under President Ford.

pulled a gun on the President in Sacramento, and a short time later Sara Jane Moore actually fired a shot at him.

The President grew very concerned about his string of misfortunes on the road, and one day when Don was out of town, he called me into the Oval Office to talk about it. Wanting to be helpful, I pointed out that every single trip on which there had been an incident had been managed by Don Rumsfeld. The President understood and decided on the spot that Don would make an outstanding secretary of defense.

To be serious, I have watched Don Rumsfeld up close for seventeen years, as a congressman, agency head, presidential counselor, ambassador to NATO, White House chief of staff, secretary of defense, and corporate executive. I have never known him to do anything other than his very best for the nation in whatever assignment he was handed. Don's sense of history, his broad understanding of America and its people, his intense devotion to those principles of freedom and democracy that characterize our civilization, all justify the honor we bestow on him here tonight. The future course of history will depend upon our ability to promote our belief in freedom and to demonstrate to the rest of the world the close links between capitalism, democratic values, individual liberty, and economic progress. Donald Rumsfeld will continue to be one of the leaders in this effort, whether from the private or the public side.

Others have spoken about the responsibility of American business to promote freedom. However, it seems to me that what we desire from the private sector will come about only if the public sector creates an environment in which American business can flourish. The federal government can contribute to or detract from the ability of business to promote freedom and economic development in two major ways: tax policy and fiscal policy. Unfortunately, the government has failed to produce tax policy and fiscal policy designed to promote economic growth. Some would say that recent developments in both areas threaten to do just the opposite.

Whether in starting a new enterprise, running a major corporation, serving in a government post, or spreading the gospel of economic and political freedom around the world, our success will ultimately depend upon the quality of the people involved. We need to recruit talented persons for both sectors who will make a personal commitment to foster hope and creativity and individual liberty.

Business Heroes Are Risk-Takers

FRANK SHAKESPEARE

There is a misperception that business—and by that I mean big business, Fortune 500 business—has played a major role in the philosophical ferment and the evolution of ideas in this country in the last thirty years. That is simply not so, for reasons having to do with its nature. Most big companies are stockholder-owned, and no one owns a big enough piece of the stock to move the company to take a stand. Action can come only from the very top. But most executives of large companies arrive at the top late in life. You are fifty-five or sixty before you get to be chairman or chief executive officer. You've been trained to be cautious, to be non-controversial. You've been trained that critical editorials in the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post* are harmful to your career. And so you're very careful about what you do.

For these structural reasons, then, large corporations have not played a leading role in the idea struggle in this country. Public policy organizations that have been in the forefront of this struggle will attest that almost no major corporation supported them until it became "safe" and acceptable to do so.

The business people who really *have* played a role are the entrepreneurs, the risk-takers, persons who have struggled and built a company or a fortune and have not been afraid of controversy. The real business heroes in the idea struggle in our country—such people as Shelby Cullom Davis, William Simon, Lou Lehrman, Joseph Coors, Kenneth Giddens, Donald Rumsfeld, and Jeremiah Milbank, most of whom are present in

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Frank Shakespeare is the U.S. Ambassador to Portugal. He formerly was the president of R.K.O. General. He directed the United States Information Agency 1969–73 and was later the chairman of Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty.

this room—have come from entrepreneurial business, not big corporate business. They knew the importance of risk and struggle in the marketplace.

To energize the struggle of ideas, we need business people who are not afraid of controversy, who are risk-takers, and who control enough of their own business to lead that business to take a stand. That almost rules out the large publicly owned corporation, in which nobody plays such a role.

But the real catalysts of change are the idea people, many of whom are also in this room—people like Irving Kristol, Midge Decter and the Committee for the Free World, Reed Irvine and Accuracy in Media, Ed Feulner and the Heritage Foundation, Bill Baroody and the American Enterprise Institute, Ernest Lefever and the Ethics and Public Policy Center. If we are to sell abroad the American ideas of limited government and freedom, the Judeo-Christian tradition, the private marketplace and personal responsibility, this is where the leadership will come from.

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